

# Venture

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## Comment

Incorporating *Empire*

## VICTORIA FALLS

**A**FRICAN opposition to the proposals for Central African Federation contained in the Report of the London conference of officials\* has for the time being succeeded. The Victoria Falls Conference, which met from September 18 to 21, has not recommended Federation. It did not accept the officials' Report. The Report was presented as a basis for discussion. It is still nothing more.

It is important to be quite certain of what has and has not been accepted at Victoria Falls, and by whom. The Conference was presided over by the Governor of Southern Rhodesia and attended by the Secretaries of State for the Colonies and for Commonwealth Relations. The Southern Rhodesian delegation included Ministers and leaders of the Opposition parties in Parliament. Southern Rhodesia sent no Africans. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland sent their Governors and senior officials as well as European and African un-officials. Nyasaland sent its two African Members of Legislative Council and one other. Northern Rhodesia sent two African Legislative Council Members and one European Member representing African Interests. The Conference was held in secret. Since Parliament is not in session, and Ministers cannot yet make statements on it, the communiqué issued at the end of the Conference must at present be regarded as the only authoritative account of its decisions. This communiqué makes it quite clear that:—

1. **Federation is still an open question.** 'It has from the outset been made clear that there was no intention of reaching decisions binding on any Government. It was realised that such a conference might disclose points of difference with regard to

the principle of federation as well as to the proposals made in the Report to bring it into being. This has proved to be the case. It has become evident that further discussion within each Territory and exchanges of views between the four Governments will be necessary, and the Conference has therefore adjourned. It is hoped that the position can be sufficiently clarified to enable the Conference to reassemble in London about the middle of next year.'

2. The United Kingdom representatives, as well as those of the three territories, were favourable to the principle of federation 'as so far presented and examined.' **The African representatives were not.**
3. It was agreed that 'advantage . . . would arise from the common handling of problems that transcend territorial boundaries, such as communications, research, defence, higher education and the planning of economic development.'
4. It was agreed that there should be no 'weakening or dilution of the British connection and British traditions and principle' in the three territories.

The need for co-operation between the three territories has never been denied. The form of that co-operation has not yet been decided. Not only are Africans opposed to Federation, but also, Mr. Griffiths stated in his press conference held on his return to London, all the Europeans who favoured federation had reservations to make on details in the officials' Report. As Mr. Gordon-Walker said, before the Conference opened, 'We need a lot more argument and explanation and possible adjustment.'

The weight attached to African opinion by the British Government can no longer be in doubt. Mr. Griffiths found Africans in the two northern territories 'almost unanimously opposed' to Federation. He did not accept the view, put forward at least once on the spot and persistently by the journal *East Africa and Rhodesia* in this country, that the views expressed by Africans were

\* Cmd. 8233. H.M. Stationery Office.



without substance and even, as has been suggested, provided for them 'ready-made' from London. On the contrary, Mr. Griffiths found that they were 'deeply felt and sincerely held,' and that they were 'put with very great force and conviction.' Nor were they held by a mere minority 'discontented semi-literates.' They were expressed by the traditional spokesmen in the Provincial and Representative Councils, by mine-workers and by political organisations. The status of these organisations is now established. In Northern Rhodesia, the two African Members of Legislative Council, chosen by the machinery officially devised for this purpose, are both leading members of the African Congress. In Nyasaland, according to Mr. Griffiths, the Congress consists largely of the younger, educated men, but 'enjoys a good deal of support and prestige among the older elements as well.' Perhaps the best result of the summer's activities in Central Africa is that African opinion cannot now be swept aside.

It was not swept aside at Victoria Falls. There it was recognised that African fears are based not only on the details of the scheme propounded by the officials, but rather on the developments likely to follow the establishment of a Federation. They fear that Federation will lead to amalgamation, with the loss of the Protectorate status of the two Northern territories, they fear the loss of their land to European settlers, and they fear that the pressure of Southern Rhodesia in a federal state would be exerted against African political advance. The Victoria Falls Conference considered these views, and 'agreed that in any further consideration of proposals for federation—

1. The Protectorate status of the two northern territories would be accepted and preserved. **This therefore excludes any consideration now or in the future of amalgamation of the three territories unless a majority of the inhabitants of all three territories desired.** (Mr. Griffiths stated in answer to a question at his press conference that this guarantee of the preservation of Protectorate status would also exclude the possibility of the federal state, if established, becoming a Dominion unless the majority desired it.)
2. 'Land and land-settlement questions in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland must remain, as at present (subject to the ultimate authority of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom) the responsibility of the territorial Government and legislature in each territory and not of any federal authority. The land rights of the African people in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland must remain secured in accordance with the existing Orders in Council on the subject.'
3. The political advancement of the peoples of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, both in local and territorial Government, must remain as at present (subject to the ultimate authority of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom).

the responsibility of the Government and legislature of each territory, and not of any federal authority.'

'It was further agreed that if any form of closer association is eventually decided on all those rights would be enshrined as an integral part of the constitution.' These are important guarantees. They were agreed by the representatives of the European settlers in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. They were agreed by the representatives of Southern Rhodesia. They cannot possibly be omitted from any future scheme that may emerge from the discussions to be held next year.

The Conference also agreed on one more fundamental principle:—

'that economic and political partnership between Europeans and Africans is the only policy under which federation could be brought about in the conditions of Central Africa, and it was recognised that any scheme of Closer Association would have to give full effect to that principle.'

This, of course, has been stated many times before, and there can be no disagreement with the principle. The question is now, how is it to be operated in practice? At Victoria Falls, the Northern Rhodesian African representatives took the bull by the horns. They want to see partnership at home before they talk about its implementation in a wider field. They explained that

'Africans would be willing to consider the question of federation on the basis of the Report of the London Conference of officials **after the policy of partnership in Northern Rhodesia had been defined, and as so defined put into progressive operation.**'

They are now to sit down together with European spokesmen to work out the implications of this principle for their own territory. Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia would do well to follow suit.

Such discussions cannot be easy for either side. The fact that the Victoria Falls Conference was held in secret presents difficulties for the African representatives. They were deprived of the opportunity of giving public expression to the fears of their people. If they have modified their views at all, the modifications will have to be very carefully explained to the men they represented. On the other hand, a sincere discussion of partnership must involve considerable concessions by the Europeans. There will have to be agreement on increased African representation in the Legislative Councils, on the training of Africans for skilled work and their free access to skilled jobs, on more equal opportunities in education, and on the abolition of petty discriminations such as separate entrances in post offices and shops. If such agreement could be reached in Northern Rhodesia, it



would, as the African representatives appear to have thought, enable them to discuss federation from a position of strength instead of weakness. It would also affect the position of Africans in Southern Rhodesia. The presence of Africans in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, and in any future delegation to a conference on federation, would do more than anything else to allay African fears in the north. Mr. Welensky and Sir Godfrey Huggins now have the ball at their feet.

The whole question of closer association will take on a different colour if these discussions succeed. Africans and Europeans have not hitherto sat down together to discuss their common problems except in official assemblies. The time for that is now over in Central Africa. 'If Africans and Europeans are to work in partnership' we wrote in August, 'there is no time like the present to start. The need for common handling of inter-territorial problems has now been agreed on. The form of association—federal or otherwise—has yet to be settled. The details of the machinery, such as safeguards and representation, have still to be discussed. But if the implications of partnership were quietly faced, next year's discussions, if they take place, could be held in a quite different atmosphere.'

## UGANDA COTTON

AT last a ten-year plan has been announced for the re-organisation of the cotton industry. Since 1929 its position has been constantly investigated without results. In the meantime, African dissatisfaction with the Indian monopoly of the ginning industry has provided a focus of racial animosity and proved to be one of the sources of the violent disturbances of 1949. The industry was also admitted, on all sides, to be thoroughly inefficient, with a surplus of uneconomic gins and a lack of proper supervision. The £25m. accumulated in the Cotton Fund provided yet a further irritant—the African producers demanding some direct benefit from this tempting sum. When the Secretary of State for the Colonies visited Uganda in May, 1951, the possibility of nationalisation was mooted, but was opposed not only by the Uganda Government and by the Europeans and Indians concerned but also by African farmers who doubted whether nationalisation would further the African ownership of the ginneries, which was their objective. Under the new plan the Government of Uganda proposes to assist African co-operatives to acquire sufficient ginneries within the next ten years, so that by 1961 they should be ginning 100,000 bales out of an average crop of 350,000 bales per year. Uneconomic ginneries will

be bought and put out of action, so that the remainder will each have a larger market to deal with. A Development Council is to be set up representative of all concerned in the industry and training arrangements to fit Africans for managerial and technical posts are to be instituted. This is certainly a serious attempt to meet the immediate problems of Uganda cotton, though the extent of the African's participation may still not satisfy them. Much will now depend on the success of the Development Council, particularly in explaining the complexities of marketing in terms which the producers can appreciate.

## ET TU, BRUTE?

COLONIAL readers of *The Times* third leader on September 25 may feel some sympathy with the Ancient Briton. This 'barbarian . . . blue-painted with woad,' was for centuries misunderstood. His people, British children used to be told, 'were almost naked, and had very bad swords and very weak spears' which 'could hardly ever hurt a Roman.' The works he left behind were largely ignored, and even the British Museum paid them inadequate attention till a hundred years ago. By now a sufficient number of them have been gathered together and studied for long enough to change our view. Patient research and a sustained effort at æsthetic understanding have given the British people a broader and truer appreciation of their own past. The same process is going on to-day all over the colonial empire, and wider knowledge, as always, is fathering deeper understanding. London's recent exhibition of traditional art from the Colonies has revealed, as Lord Listowel points out on page 5, the danger of accepting 'the distinction sometimes drawn between primitive art and that of so-called civilised peoples.' The lesson we are learning in London needs equally to be learnt by many colonials. Lord Listowel asks for a modern building in Lagos to house a national collection worthy of the heritage of Nigeria. The suggestion might well be taken up in some other territories. The ancient British were not the only people to suffer from ignorance and standards of judgment different from their own.

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# HONG KONG MARKETS ITS FISH\*

THIS is the story of co-operation in the largest fishing fleet of its kind in the world, with 5,000 vessels and 60,000 fishermen. It shows how Government planning and financial support together with loyal, honest and enthusiastic support from producers, can wipe out the middlemen and money-lenders who so often batten on them. Fishing communities in Malaya, Sarawak and the West Indies could learn much from this successful experiment.

Before Hong Kong was ceded to the British over a hundred years ago, there were fishing communities on the island. Fish is still the main primary product. The fishermen are mainly Cantonese and Hoklos, living their lives on sampans and junks, separated from the Chinese of the mainland and very little influenced by modern developments. Their concern used to be to catch the fish, with no interest in the marketing, provided that they received sufficient money to renew equipment and feed and clothe their families. Repayment of loans, apart from interest, or the depositing of savings in a bank, has never been a part of their lives.

Sometimes the fisherman owns his junk or has built it with capital partly advanced by a loan, but it has always been difficult for him to keep out of debt. Sooner or later, as a result of typhoon damage, family funerals, a bad season, or gambling he would be forced to borrow from the middleman to whom he sold his fish. The conditions of loan generally included the repayment of exorbitant interest in kind. Many fishermen would remain permanently in debt. So the middleman-money-lenders and guilds of middlemen made the money out of the fish business.

There was no Fisheries or Agricultural Department in Hong Kong before the war, but there was a small Fisheries Research Unit attached to the University. In the months immediately before the outbreak of the Pacific War (December, 1941) the Unit took on the job of buying, salting and storing a large quantity of fish to serve as a siege ration. One member of the Unit, Mr. S. Y. Lin, stayed in Hong Kong during the Japanese occupation and did a fine job of work preparing sharks' liver oil, which was smuggled into the prisoner-of-war and internees' camps to fight acute deficiency of Vitamin A. During internment a plan was worked

out by which it was hoped to free the fishermen from the control of the middlemen and develop community services.

Immediately after the Japanese surrender, in September, 1945, the Military Administration accepted a detailed marketing plan. A Fish Marketing Organisation, self-sufficient, and separate from government, was set up under the control of the Fisheries Department. A staff of 147 was recruited and trained in seven weeks, and Mr. Lin, who had gained the confidence of the fishermen, was responsible for enlisting their co-operation. Mr. Wu Wai Kai, who received an excellent training in this country through a Government scholarship under the Horace Plunkett Foundation, was put in charge of the ten District Syndicates formed to collect and transport the fish to the market. The Marketing Organisation faced every kind of difficulty, the middlemen put up a stiff opposition, nearly half the fishing yards for repairs and building were out of action, food was short, refrigeration plants not working, tubs for the transport of fish were non-existent. But a heroic start was made, and by October 18, 1945, 26,257 fishermen with 2,424 vessels had been registered.

From the inception of the scheme, five regulations were accepted by the Hong Kong Government and the Marketing Organisation:—

1. All fish landed in the Colony to be sold at one wholesale market;
2. One charge of six per cent commission on sales to cover all handling, transport of fish by sea or land to the market and away to the depots of exporters and retailers;
3. Fishermen to be paid within one hour after the fish had been sold;
4. Buyers to be allowed 48 hours credit;
5. All fish to be sold by public auction.

In this way the Marketing Organisation established a transport and marketing system working through the District Syndicates established at each of the main fishing villages. At each depot fishing gear may be bought at wholesale prices and rationed rice is distributed. The organisation has also supplanted the money-lenders as a source of credit.

An attack was made on the permanent indebtedness of the fishermen by a system of *compulsory* saving of a small percentage of their income to be repaid plus two per cent interest, at six-monthly intervals coinciding with the typhoon season and Chinese New Year. At the beginning of the scheme, the fisherfolk were suspicious and never expected to see their money again, but after the

\* The second in a series of factual articles on co-operative marketing, based on material available in the *Mass Education Bulletin*, March, 1951, *Hong Kong Annual Reports*, and *Hansard* of April 3, 1951.



first pay-out, there was great appreciation. In a year or so, some of the fishermen had opened voluntary savings accounts with the Marketing Organisation.

A further development that is taking place is the mechanisation of the fishing fleet. In 111 vessels, diesel engines have replaced the traditional sails of the Chinese junks. These will free them in the months of the typhoon season from remaining close to the shores where fish is less plentiful. Through a grant of £20,000 from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, two experimental vessels are being devised which, it is hoped, will enable the new mechanised vessel still to be the home of the fisherman and his family.

According to a statement in the House of Commons on April 3, 1951, the Fish Marketing

Organisation has now a recurrent expenditure of £106,250; it has spent £54,375 on loans to fishermen. New markets have been built. A fleet of 16 lorries has been purchased and five motor fishing vessels are hired from the Harbour Department for transport by sea. Between 1946 and 1949 both the tonnage of fish sold and the value nearly doubled. In addition, the Organisation has spent £3,750 on subsidising schools, has assisted adult literacy classes and established community centres.

The fishermen are forming small co-operative societies for the collection and marketing of fish through the District Syndicates, and a Registrar of Co-operatives has been appointed to guide this movement. The final stage proposed is the development of the Marketing Organisation itself into a co-operative.

## Traditional Art from the Colonies

by Lord Listowel

THE exhibition of traditional art from the Colonies, held at the Imperial Institute as a contribution to the Festival of Britain, was unique both as a display of tribal art and as a record of the cultural achievement of many indigenous peoples in Africa, Oceania, and South-east Asia. It was the first time that a collection of this size and quality, chosen for artistic merit and not for historical or ethnographical interest, had been seen in London. I should add that it was not, for it did not set out to be, a cross-section of the fine arts as they have matured in these territories.

Being deliberately limited to the art of the old masters, it did not show us any of the new and fascinating work done under western influences, which have often served, as in the West Indies, to stimulate the creative imagination of the modern artist. Nor could it recapture for us the transitory movements of the ritual dance, or the rhythmic sound of voices and instruments, which accompanied and still accompany it. The parent stem is only suggested when we see the comic or terrifying or austere stylised masks worn by the dancers to symbolise their affinity with animal or human spirits.

These exhibits certainly obliterated the distinction sometimes drawn between primitive art and that of so-called civilised peoples. They proved that it is simply untrue that tribal art is inferior in quality to that produced at the peak of occidental or oriental cultures. I am thinking particularly of the bronze and terra-cotta heads from Ife and Benin. An Oni's head has the unruffled calm and stylistic simplicity of a Greek god.

It is true, as Henry Moore has said, that for these African sculptors representation was probably subordinated to a religious or magical purpose. But what matters the impulse from which these masterpieces sprang? Indeed, the fact that we do not see with the mental eye of their contemporaries enables us to grasp an æsthetic significance that may sometimes have eluded them. It is not in the least necessary for the appreciation of these objects to understand, as an art historian or anthropologist should do, the social conditions or the artistic and technical influences which led to their production. We have only to stand before them, to concentrate our gaze, and to submit to the enchantment of their vitality and formal perfection.

Our country is often accused of an ignorant and philistine attitude to the arts. This exhibition exonerates us at any rate from this reproach in relation to the indigenous cultures of the many peoples for whom we have responsibility overseas. It is a proud and respectful acknowledgment that West Africa has a sculptural heritage no less brilliant than that of Mediterranean Europe, and it must have convinced our critics that we take at least as much pride in the cultural achievements of the Colonial peoples as in our own.

One leaves the Exhibition with an unforgettable impression of the artistic wealth of Nigeria. It extends in time from the wonderful terra-cotta heads of prehistoric Nok, through Ife and Benin, to the carved figures and other decorative wood carvings of sculptors living to-day. How important

(Continued on page 12.)



# FACT

## PACIFIC TRUST TERRITORIES

At its Eighth Session in March, 1951, the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations Organisation examined Annual Reports submitted by the Powers administering the four Trust Territories in the Pacific Area. The Council's principal recommendations and comments were as follows:

**NAURU** (Administered by Australia). The Council noted the 'conscientious efforts' of the Administering Authority. It welcomed the proposed reconstitution of the Council of Chiefs and recommended consideration of an increase in its powers. The Administering Authority was asked to continue surveys of the economic possibilities of the territory and to ensure that the dominant position of the phosphate industry did not prejudice the interests of the indigenous people; and as a 'matter of urgency' to extend the projected educational facilities to include secondary education, and to increase specialised teacher training.

**NEW GUINEA** (Administered by Australia). The Council recognised the difficulties confronting the Administration, and noted that further areas had been brought under administrative control and three Native Village Councils established. It urged additional efforts to set up village and area councils, and the establishment of a Legislative Council without further delay. It asked the Administration to consider increasing revenue from gold production either by an increase in the present five per cent royalties or taxes on the industry. It asked for fuller information on such movements as the 'cargo cult,' and called for increased educational facilities.

**PACIFIC ISLANDS TRUST TERRITORY** (Administered by the United States). The Council congratulated the Administering Authority on political progress in establishing municipalities and congresses. It asked the Administration to continue measures to establish and develop industries for export, with special reference to commercial fishing and copra. It noted with satisfaction that authority over the territories was to be transferred from the Department of the Navy to the Department of the Interior in July.

**WESTERN SAMOA** (Administered by New Zealand). Progress during the year was commended, especially in economic matters, such as increased production of food crops, new roads and

schools, and the completion of a hydro-electric power station. The Administration was urged to develop training programmes for higher administrative responsibilities, to establish an Executive Council in which Samoans might participate and to extend educational facilities. The Council emphasised the importance of resolving differentiation in status between Samoans and Europeans.

**PETITIONS** included the following:—

The Nauru Council of Chiefs asked for increased royalties from the phosphate industry and increased wages. The Council replied that both had been raised during the year. Chinese Associations in New Guinea complained that Chinese who entered the territory before 1922 may not be granted permission to return if they leave New Guinea, local-born Chinese are regarded as aliens, and Chinese workers receive lower wages than Europeans. The Council postponed consideration as the decision of the Australian Government was expected shortly.

## LABOUR RELATIONS

The following **Statement of Government Policy on Industrial Relations** was published by the Government of Sierra Leone on July 31, 1951. It describes the machinery to which we referred in our editorial comment, **Raising Labour Standards**, in our October number.

**I**N general this Government, following the policy adopted in the United Kingdom, desires that all matters relating to wage rates and conditions of employment should, as far as possible, be settled by agreement between employers and their employees. To this end constant encouragement has been given to the formation of representative trade unions and employers' associations. In order to facilitate a sound and permanent relationship between the two sides of industry, Joint Industrial Councils have been set up, and Heads of Government Departments sit on these bodies along with other employers. It is thought this machinery provides a means whereby the highest degree of co-operation can be secured between employers and employed.

Apart from the Joint Industrial Councils, Government has also established Wages Boards in industries where it appeared at the time those bodies were set up that the workers concerned were not sufficiently organised to make comprehensive agreements with their employers. Their function



is to fix minimum rates of pay which are statutorily enforceable. In addition to the employers' and employees' representatives, there are independent members on the Boards. Their successful operation depends very largely upon the co-operation which is so essential on the Joint Industrial Councils.

It is the view of Government that the existence of the Joint Industrial Councils and Wages Boards has contributed very substantially to the industrial peace which has benefited the Colony and Protectorate during the post-war years. It is equally recognised that the success which has attended the setting up of these bodies has been brought about by the goodwill and commonsense of those who serve on them. Government wishes to record its appreciation of the way these qualities have been exercised in the past. It may well be that these qualities need to be exercised in increasing measure in the future. World conditions are such that variations in the prices of many goods and services in Sierra Leone may continue for some time, and the need for maintaining the closest co-operation between the two sides of industry will become more and more necessary on this account. Government is therefore most anxious that the fullest use should be made of the machinery which has been established for adjusting whatever claims may be put forward by either employers or employees on matters affecting wages and conditions of employment.

Although encouragement has been given to the setting up of Joint Industrial Councils and the establishment of Wages Boards in the hope that good industrial relations will ensue, it still remains an obligation of Government to continue to provide facilities for the settlement of any trade disputes and strikes which may arise. Much as recourse to strike action is to be deplored, it is recognised that the right of trade unions to withdraw the labour of their members in accordance with their rules remains unaffected. Similarly employers retain the right to declare a lock-out. It is however essential that employers or employees resorting to such extreme action should understand the policy that will be adopted by Government in such circumstances. Every effort will be made to conciliate the parties and to secure a resumption of work pending a full settlement of the points of issue by the use of the machinery which has been established for the purpose. If it is considered necessary, and if the parties themselves agree to accept their findings, arbitration tribunals will be appointed to deal with differences which cannot otherwise be determined. It will only be after the exhaustive use of these methods has proved un-

successful, and if it appears that serious harm may be done to the industry concerned or to the community in general that Government will consider the setting up of Boards of Enquiry under the Trades Disputes Ordinance. It is felt very strongly that this instrument should be used sparingly, and in no circumstances as a means of circumventing established machinery, conciliation or arbitration.

## HOUSING IN SINGAPORE

THE Annual Report on the work of the Singapore Improvement Trust during 1950\* emphasises the 'formidable' tasks confronting the Trust. Half the Island's 1m. population is badly housed 'and the present housing programme is dealing with only half the natural increase' of 36,000 a year. 'The Island has no overall plan. . . Legislation is still inadequate . . . with rubber and tin fetching the highest prices ever, money is flowing fast and yet the mass of the population is living in filthy slums.' The Trust's major fear is that Government grants may be reduced or withheld. Much of its work depends on the passage of the Singapore Development Bill through Legislative Council. A major difficulty, particularly on re-housing schemes, is that an economic rent is often above the means of re-housed slum tenants. The Trust aims at covering expenditure, including the three per cent interest it pays on Government loans, without making a profit. Its Rentals Committee recommends that no direct subsidy should be made to housing, but that the Government should consider subsidising the poorer tenants, by affording some measure of rent assistance where necessary. During 1950, the Trust completed 855 flats, 236 artisans' quarters and 43 shops, and began construction of a further 1,342 flats, 152 artisans' quarters and 130 shops. The flats have one to four bedrooms, and all multi-storey flats now have refuse chutes and showers, and the better-class flats have electric power points and gas. All flats have generous open spaces with grass and trees. Each estate of artisans' quarters has its own self-contained shopping centre. All quarters built in 1950 had modern sanitation, individual water supply and electricity. In opening the first flats constructed with money subscribed on the occasion of Princess Elizabeth's wedding, the Secretary of State, then visiting the Colony, commented that they 'compared very favourably with any workmen's flats which he had seen in the United Kingdom.'

The Chairman of the Trust is the President of the Singapore Municipal Commission, and two elected members of the Municipal Commission sit on the Board, together with a representative of the Rural Board. Official members include the Director of Public Works, and there are three unofficial members appointed to the Board by the Governor. Its funds are made up of rents, loans from Government (\$17½m. from 1948-50), special funds (e.g. \$800,429 from the Princess Elizabeth Fund), and the proceeds of an Improvement Rate levied by the Municipal Commissioners on the value of all houses and lands within the municipal areas. Government contributes to the Trust from the general revenues of the Colony a sum equal to the proceeds of the Improvement Rate for the preceding half-year.

It will be observed that the allocation of responsibility for and the financing of public housing in Singapore is quite different from United Kingdom practice.

\* Published by Authority of the Singapore Improvement Trust. \$2.



# COLONIAL OPINION...

## Family Planning in Singapore

The Singapore Family Planning Association is asking the Government to increase its annual grant from \$10,000 to \$20,000. Whilst there are similar associations in Asia, Singapore is the only Asian territory except Japan, where a Family Planning Association is able to maintain clinics and a paid staff; and it does so both with donations from the public and with its Government grant. Whether the Finance Committee of the Legislative Council will agree to double the association's grant will depend presumably not only on the work that the association has done so far but on the work that remains to be done (outside the field in which religious objections forbid it) and on the importance of that work. Certain it is that in one Asian country after another economists and sociologists are rising up to declare that the human sex instinct is defeating the human intelligence, and that this conflict is drawing a huge and ironical question mark across every blue print for a better life.

In India, where the population is increasing at the rate of five millions a year, the Planning Commission appointed by the Nehru Government has just produced its first Five-year Plan. This document points to the rapid increase in population as the root problem, and recommends widespread Government facilities for advice on family planning.

In the United States the Rockefeller Foundation recently published a report on 'Public Health and Demography in the Far East,' and one reviewer has this to say about it:—

'Mortality control is one thing, and as experience has shown, is comparatively easy to achieve. Fertility control is quite another, but nevertheless is the key to a balanced development in Asia. There is thus an urgent need, as the report emphasises, to study the economic, social and cultural institutions of Asia to see if this balance can be effected.

Unless fertility control can accompany the current and projected plans for welfare in the Far East, they will run the risk of being defeated by the recurrent pressure of numbers against resources.'

... If we cannot spread birth control we can at least spread in receptive minds the idea that the East must follow the West in abandoning the age-old practice of unrestricted human breeding, subject only to the checks of war and sickness and famine if the 'coolie' standard of living is to become what it ought to be, a thing of the past.

*Straits Times*, August 2, 1951.

## Swaziland Europeans Don't Want Malan

'We don't want anything of Malan.' This cry is the general reaction here among the Europeans in Mbabane, capital of Swaziland, to Dr. Malan's threat to make an election issue of the incorporation of the protectorates.

Major H. R. Hendy, a member of the Advisory Council and the President of the Swaziland Chamber of Commerce, told me that commerce in this territory is '1,001 per cent.' against incorporation.

'As long as the political situation in the Union is what it is, and so unstable and so biased that neither Europeans nor Natives can be sure of the elementary principles of freedom, we don't want anything of incorporation.'

A few white people in the south might be in favour, but the vast majority of Europeans, and certainly practically every Native, would be against having anything to do with joining up with the Union.

'We know exactly what would happen if there were incorporation,' said Major Hendy. 'From the moment they took over, the pressure would be on.'

Asked whether he did not think that the economic progress to be derived from incorporation would outweigh the disadvantages, Major Hendy replied: 'We are on the verge of big things. We have the natural resources we need and are going all out to develop them. We need all the Native labour we have.'

Mr. Allister M. Miller, O.B.E., one of Swaziland's pioneers, said that he was convinced that incorporation with the Union would be the worst thing that could happen to Swaziland.

'In fact, to hand over the territories and the Natives to a government so apartheid and racially-minded would be a terrible thing to do.'

*The Friend*, Bloemfontein, September 8, 1951.

## West Indian Federation

Jamaica is at last officially gone on record as accepting the principle of Federation. Though the debate in the House has not produced more than an agreement upon the principle, we think it is enough, and indeed that to have gone further might have been unwise. Much still remains to be done before Federation is an actuality. British Guiana, British Honduras and Barbados have yet to come to any agreement on the Rance Report, but because Mr. Bustamante has been popularly regarded as opposed to Federation the decision taken in the House this week should help to spark debate upon the issue in those territories which have yet to accept the idea.

Some people will doubtless regret that it has taken nearly four years since the Montego Bay Conference, for even this much progress to be made. We do not agree. It is easy and popular to think in terms of this generation. Too often is this the case with our politicians. But if we are to create a sound political and economic structure in the Caribbean, if we are not to make too numerous and too simple mistakes, it were better to make haste slowly. The three or four years which have elapsed since the first conference on Federation have served to make the idea become more acceptable to people. Like Self-Government for Jamaica, Federation is not now so fantastic an idea as when it was first mooted. Most of the original objections have been borne away on the wings of time.

The discussion in the House did not deal to any great extent with the Federal Structure proposed in the Rance Report. What is evident, however, is that there is general agreement that what is needed for these territories and what must emanate from Federation is an autonomous state, able and qualified to share equal status with the other self-governing units of the British Commonwealth.

It is important that all the provinces in the Federal set-up have equal status. This is the answer to those who criticise the idea of Federation on the ground that it is impracticable to federate territories of unequal political responsibility and determination. Universal Adult Suffrage is now general throughout the British Caribbean and most of the provincial Legislatures have already been elected on this suffrage. There is therefore very little difference to-day in the degree of responsibility and representation of the various Legislatures, and upon this basis it should not be difficult to accept the idea of equal status for all—an important prerequisite of Federation.

*Public Opinion*, August 18, 1951.



# HOW NIGERIA VOTED

We published last month details of methods of election of Members of the Regional Houses of Assembly in Nigeria. The following account of a village election in an Eastern Provinces village, published in the *Nigeria Review* on August 11th, shows how the arrangements worked in practice.

THE elections at Umuomaku were held in the C.M.S. Church of St. Mary, and the solemn dignity of the surroundings could not fail to remind the voters of the importance of the occasion. In spite of bad weather almost half the electorate turned up to register their votes. Some had just left their farm work. But it was disappointing to see that few of the 'sons abroad' were present.

Umuomaku has six seats in the Divisional Electoral Meeting, and the proceedings started with the Returning Officer calling for nominations for the six seats, and explaining that as many people could be nominated as were wanted but that each voter would be able to vote for only six of them. At first nomination was slow, and at one point it looked as if the election would be uncontested, as only six nominees were forthcoming. But when the Returning Officer announced that there were three minutes more before nominations closed, the people who had collected themselves in groups outside and engaged in lively debate, came back with four more nominees.

All ten nominees were then seated in a conspicuous position in the choir of the church, while the Returning Officer and his Assistant retired to the vestry where they secretly recorded the votes. Each voter walked from the main body of the church on the summons of a bell. On his way he passed the candidates, whom he was thus able to scrutinise before he voted, and who in turn were able to see the voters and register an immediate protest if they considered that any would-be voter was not on the Electoral Register. In fact no protests were made, but one youth was not allowed to register his vote by

the Returning Officer as his name was not on the list.

Inside the vestry each voter gave the names of the six men of his choice to the Returning Officer. Most of the voters whispered, but a few spoke up loudly and boldly with an air of 'those are my choices and I don't care who knows it.' About 250 people voted, after which the candidates themselves were called in, one at a time, to register their own votes.

In the main body of the church there was a tense moment of eager expectation when the Returning Officer read out the result of the election to the voters, who gave a great ovation to the successful candidates. The surprise of the elections was the defeat of a prominent Court Member who was regarded as certain of success before the voting started. The defeated, however, accepted their failure in good part, and there were no questions as to the accuracy of the count, as votes were actually counted up in the presence of the candidates before the results were announced.

Significant in these elections was the fact that the people understood what they were doing. For instance, one farmer, questioned at random why they were electing people, replied that he had been told that they were to elect six men to go to Awka. Asked further what the elected men would do at Awka the farmer said, 'They are going to select men to represent us at Enugu.' There were some few who appeared to know little about the new constitution, but the majority had an adequate understanding.

Also significant was the absence of any political party influence, all of the candidates standing on family rather than political party platforms.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Family Planning

Sir,

As your correspondent Mrs. Barbara Cadbury referred to me in her letter I should like to say something about this very important subject—one which is over-charged with emotional dynamite.

During my recent visit to the West Indian islands, the first question I put to the various leaders whom I met was, 'What is to become of all the numerous young men and women whom one sees in all these islands? What opportunities for work of all kinds, skilled and unskilled, are available for them?' Unemployment is steadily rising. The islands are not self-supporting as regards food.

How is the standard of living to be raised when the population is increasing so rapidly, and far out-running all available opportunities for work?

The largest check on this rising population is the high infantile mortality. In most of the islands it is a sad fact that this is 4-6 times the figure for England.

I remember meeting a large gathering of the medical men in one of the larger islands and putting them a question on the teaching of family planning. The oldest practitioner present told me that he had travelled from the farthest point of the island specially to advise me not to touch this subject as it was dynamite. He said that many years ago he had advocated instruction in family planning as the short-term remedy for the over-

population. He had met with such serious opposition that he eventually decided that silence was his wisest course. It is interesting to note that Bishop Barnes, the Bishop of Birmingham, in his Cavendish lecture, has advocated serious consideration of the control of populations.

Perhaps the most interesting fact I discovered on the subject of family planning was revealed in a conference at the Caribbean Commission. Here a careful study of the birth-rate curves is being made from the figures of births published in the various islands. The statistics of births are improving each year, but are not yet so accurate as those in England. Study of the shape of these curves indicates that, even in the strongly Roman Catholic Islands, the curves are altering in shape. The alteration is of the same type, as is shown in the birth rates for England, after the campaigns of Miss Annie Besant for popularising knowledge of family planning. The change in the curves indicates that already in these islands a substantial proportion of the population is practising a measure of family planning. The present need is for the spread of this knowledge among the less well-informed members of the population. With the rise in the standard of living that will follow federation, this knowledge will spread.

Yours faithfully,

C. Belfield Clarke.

Belfield House, New Barnet, Herts.



# Guide to Books

## This was the Old Chief's Country

By Doris Lessing. (Michael Joseph. 9/6.)

This remarkable collection of short stories deals chiefly with the psychological problems of the white settler in Africa, and what is rare, they are given from the woman's angle. Sharply outlined are the loneliness, strangeness, wasting idleness and neuroses of her often unnatural life in, for instance, 'Old John's Place' and 'Winter in July.' 'Little Tembi' is the tragedy of an African treated as a semi-civilised pet. 'Leopard George' treats of the relations between a white man and black woman from the African standpoint. 'The Second Hut' and 'The de Wetts' show the difference of English and Boer outlook as another cause of social disease. 'Sunrise on the Veldt' and 'No witchcraft for sale,' which are simple stories indicating both the cruelty of Africa and the primitive wisdom to be found there, perhaps show the author at her best; she is so deeply at home in her background that its vivid evocation appears to be deceptively simple.

The title of this book is taken from the first story, which deals with the ever-recurring problem of the loss of native lands and tribal disorganisation. Perhaps the most terrifying aspect of it is the outlook attributed to the settler, which does not appear to have changed since 1901, and (if this author has not too pessimistic a view) provides little confidence that Southern Rhodesia can give a leadership to the proposed closer union which would in any way reassure its African inhabitants.

Molly Mortimer.

## West Africa

By F. J. Pedler. (Methuen. 5/-)

Mr. Pedler has had both Government and commercial experience in West Africa, he assisted in the compilation of *African Survey*, and is just as conversant with conditions in the areas of French administration as he is with the British Colonies. He is thus well fitted to the intention of the Home Study Books series 'to render their subjects in a language of general intelligibility without falling into any facile popularisation.'

The book contains thoughtful discussions of such economic questions as the techniques of agriculture, the development of local industries, and the place of the large European firms in the colonial economies. Mr. Pedler defends such organisations as the U.A.C. against the charge that they strangle indigenous commercial and industrial growth, and gives *economic* reasons for the difficulties encountered by their African competitors. It is useful, for example, to be reminded that 'in England too the individual importer has practically ceased to exist.' The section on Trade Unions also emphasises the inability of African workers—in existing conditions in West Africa—to relate their living standards to those of European workers, so that a dangerous racial factor enters into all negotiations. In his observations on co-operative trading he points out that Government encouragement to both co-operative stores and the small private trader will make it difficult for either aim to be pursued with full vigour. Mr. Pedler doubts the wisdom of trying to create colonial copies of the Welfare State—the rising political force are middle classes whose economic interests do not point toward expensive welfare for the

masses'—and sees this as a contradiction of Britain's colonial policy.

French policy is analysed and compared with that of Britain. A much larger proportion of annual investment goes into production rather than welfare. French education has achieved 'political tranquillity.' An African élite is taught loyalty to France, given special posts in government service and so identified with the interests of the régime. 'How different from the British colonies, where the objectives of education have been so ill-defined and so loosely controlled!'

One regrets that Mr. Pedler's account is already slightly out of date. Events have moved so rapidly that an account of Gold Coast politics to the end of 1950 must now be modified. The reader, however, has been introduced to the chief questions of African development, and leaves this book with the urge to pursue them further.

R. D. Williams.

## SHORT NOTICES

**A Dragon Apparent.** By Norman Lewis. (Jonathan Cape. 15s.) There is so little information on Indo-China that almost any book is welcome. Unfortunately, this particular travel book is too superficial and too egotistical to give us any further understanding of the Vietnamese or the conflict. But there is an unforgettable chapter on the Rhadés, a vivid first-hand picture of the methods used on the rubber plantations to trick the wretched labourers into signing contracts against their will and the helplessness of the French administrators to stem the practice of forced labour. The tribes are dying out, not from malaria, but from working 13 hours a day, seven days a week with their hearts longing for their villages. But the French must have their rubber. The photographs are exceptionally beautiful.

**Gandhiji and Some of His Thoughts.** By S. Devas. (The Good Pastor Press, Madras. 1949. Rs.4.) Mr. Devas tells the story of the life of Mahatma Gandhi, then examines some of the main problems confronting India and seeks to deal with these in the light of lessons drawn from the teachings of the Mahatma.

**Health in the Village.** By Dr. M. J. Colbourne and J. A. Hamilton. (Bureau of Current Affairs, West African Affairs Series. 7d.) A village survey from the Gold Coast is a very real contribution, but this pamphlet would have been of greater value if it had been written in simpler language. The suggestion that control measures against malaria are unwise in case the methods broke down, cuts right across the anti-malarial work which is being successfully carried out in the Colonies.

**Community Development.** By E. R. Chadwick. (Bureau of Current Affairs, West African Affairs Series. 7d.) Needs no introduction. The story of the people of a Nigerian village building roads, learning to read and write, forming a co-operative society with plans for hospitals, markets and bus stations, follows the pattern of the famous Udi film. The second part of the pamphlet wisely deals with the necessary conditions, physical and psychological, if community development is to be a success.



# SEARCHLIGHT ON ANTIGUA—II

The second part of an article by Dr. Simon Rottenberg printed in the Caribbean Commission's *Monthly Information Bulletin* of July, 1951. The first part appeared in the October number of *Venture*.

From the foregoing description of the structure of the Antiguan economy, there are derived a number of fundamental questions which are affected by public policy. These are here enumerated with merely suggestions for answers.

## 1. Should sugar be displaced by other crops?

Sugar is a high value per acre crop. The income which is derived from the sale overseas of an acre of Antiguan sugar seems to be large enough to buy from overseas communities, for import into Antigua, the produce of several acres of other crops. This is partly due to the fact that Antigua has a relative advantage over the temperate areas in the production of cane and a relative disadvantage over the temperate areas in the production of other crops. The interests of both are served if tropical sugar is exchanged, for example, for temperate corn.

In other respects, cane is a superior crop for Antigua. The occasional droughts reduce the acreage yield of cane, but do leave some of the crop; droughts, however, affect other crops much more adversely. Also, cane is a high labour input crop, and this is useful in an economy in which large volume unemployment is chronic.

On the other hand, the price of sugar, like the prices of other raw materials, fluctuates sharply over the business cycle. In periods of bad times, therefore, sugar prices fall more rapidly than the price of the things which Antigua imports. Depression prices of sugar may carry severe poverty with them.

The advantage, however, seems to be on the side of cane. The sound policy would seem to be to grow as much cane as the factory is capable of grinding, and as can be readily marketed abroad at remunerative prices. Having expanded in cane, the sound concomitant policy would be to expand in other crops on arable land not devoted to cane. A concurrent policy should be to devote the best land to cane unless some other crop can be found which will yield a higher value of output per acre.

## 2. Should cane be grown on estate land or on peasant plots?

The per acre yield of cane in Antigua is greater on the estates than on peasant land. Peasant representatives sometimes say that this is because the best land in the island is on the estates, and only marginal land is devoted to peasant cultivation. Cropping practices, however, are superior on the estate lands, and this must be one of the factors which results in higher yields on this land. The transfer of land from estate management to peasant management, therefore, would probably result in reduced output for the island as a whole.

The community may be willing to undergo this reduction in output (and correspondingly a reduction in the standard of living) on other, social grounds; if independence and freedom from supervision are valued highly, these could be given a higher priority ranking than output in the scale of public policy. Such a transfer, however, might mean a small gain in freedom and a large loss in output. In this case, given the poverty levels at which the community lives, Antigua would be wise to look hard twice at any proposal that would further press down the standard of consumption.

## 3. Should income be transferred 'from the rich to the poor'?

With exceptions, the 'rich' of Antigua are not very well-to-do. The transfer of income and wealth from them to families at lower ranks on the income scale would probably not increase the incomes of the poor by more than one-quarter on the average and would still leave the community poverty stricken. If, moreover, such a transfer of income destroyed entre-preneurial initiative (which is already not very aggressive), the income of the economy as a whole might be further depressed. As has been indicated earlier, living levels can be substantially raised only by producing more, and not by redistributing what is currently produced.

## 4. Should the island attempt to be self-sufficient?

This has been already answered in the negative in number 1. Antigua gains by producing the commodities in which it has a special advantage, and exchanging them for other commodities, produced elsewhere, in the production of which other places have special advantage. When sugar is produced to exchange for shoes, the Antiguan is, in substantive terms, producing shoes. Average family consumption will be less if Antigua attempted to produce shoes directly and in physical form, rather than indirectly, through the production of sugar.

This does not mean that Antigua cannot produce other things—even fabricated things—to advantage; it does mean that she should not displace imports by producing locally those things in the production of which she is at a disadvantage. If she does, it will be at the expense of consumption standards.

## 5. Is it sound that workers maintain the occupational reservations which they do in Antigua?

In all economies, workers are more or less immobile. This means that everywhere workers are somewhat unresponsive to wage incentives in being induced to move to and between jobs. The structure of jobs created by an economy are nowhere changeless. When changes in the demand for labour occurs in an economy, it is best for the said economy that the labour force be mobile and accommodating to the change.

In Antigua, labour immobilities are created by the unwillingness of workers to work in the canefields, by the values of the community which assign particular classes of work to particular classes of workers, and by the insistence of artisans that they work in their own trades and in no other. The final effect of these rigidities may be a smaller output of goods and services. It would be sound in Antigua, therefore, to raise the mobility of workers by reducing the power and influence of occupational reservations that attract workers to classes of work in which the supply of vacancies is small.

## 6. Does the high rate of natural increase of population have an adverse effect on consumption?

Like any other resource, labour is economically useful only if it is engaged in producing goods or services. If people are relatively highly skilled, energetic, conscientious, and are producers, they increase the output of the community. If, however, they are idle, or are not at work for a reasonably long period each week or work



at low productivity levels, people share in consumption while producing little or nothing. A large and dense population can be well supported by any economy only if they are effective producers. In a predominately agricultural economy, it is not likely that a population as dense as that of Antigua can be maintained at a high standard of living.

The search for the solution to the problem of population density can be made in three directions: (a) through collective emigration; (b) through capitalisation of the economy, by raising the average of capital per worker; and (c) by changing the value system and the structure of the community in ways which will depress the birth rate.

#### 7. Are there economic gains attached to integration in the Empire?

There is a delicate balance of economic advantages and disadvantages which accompany incorporation in the Empire system. Certainly, Antigua is sometimes adversely affected by Empire economic policies which are framed to serve the interests of the Empire, and which may be unsound for particular parts of the Empire. However, British Government expenditure in Antigua, through grants-in-aid, which are largely gifts from the people of the United Kingdom to the people of Antigua, have had beneficial effects for the Antiguan community. In recent years, these grants have significantly raised average consumption in Antigua. Any break from the Empire, therefore, which brought such grants to an end would be at the expense of living standards in Antigua.

#### 8. How can living levels be increased in Antigua?

Excepting one case, the level of living can be raised by producing in Antigua more goods and services. The case excepted is that in which the relative prices of Antiguan exports and imports change in favour of exports, so that their prices rise faster, or fall more slowly, than the prices of imports.

More goods can be produced in any economy in only four ways: (a) by inducing a large proportion of the adult population to come into the labour force (persons out of the labour force are mostly housewives, young adults still at school, and old or ill persons); (b) by transferring the idle to producing capacities; (c) by having persons engaged in production work a longer time and take a shorter time in leisure; and (d) by raising the productivity of each worker hour.

The first solution is not feasible, since already a large proportion of all adults are in the labour force, and the drawing in of additional numbers would be at the expense of educating the young and the care of children. The second, third and fourth are possible.

Fundamentally, the most likely to reach the desired

objective is the fourth, but this is also the most difficult to achieve. This solution is accomplished by capitalising the economy. In an economy like Antigua's, in which consumption levels are already very low, capitalisation of the economy must be done with income borrowed from abroad since savings from internally generated income would be at a cost of further driving down consumption. It is, however, not easy to attract capital from the developed areas to a tropical island in which an industrial tradition has never been established and in which, even in agriculture, traditional production practices have employed much labour and little capital.

The first objective of public policy ought to be to raise the capacity of the community to produce goods and services. This objective should have first priority on public funds, after the most essential and minimal educational, health, welfare and public security services are met. Not only in the spending of public funds, but in other facets of public policy, this objective ought to be advanced. In specific, but only suggestive and in non-comprehensive terms, government ought to give special attention to bringing into cultivation land which is not now in crops, raising the level of technical proficiency of the peasant farmer, searching for more effective animal breeds and crop strains, teaching vocational skills, raising the social status implications of manual labour, providing credit funds for the introduction of forms of cottage industry, giving incentives to innovators, and developing tourist-attracting facilities. All of these would have the effect of raising the output capacity of the economy. Only in this way, can Antigua build a solid base for the defeat of poverty.

(Continued from page 5.)

it is to retrieve and preserve the rest of those treasures without further delay. It would be a splendid tribute to the historical greatness of Nigeria if a national collection could be assembled in Lagos, and housed in a modern building worthy of a country with the largest population and the outstanding indigenous culture in Africa south of the Sahara. Such a collection would serve not only as a focus for Nigerian culture, but as a constant reminder of the unity of Nigeria in spite of the widely divergent traditions of the Ibos, the Yorubas, and the Emirates. Is any capital city complete without a spacious and dignified setting for a national art collection?

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